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# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Important Measures Passed by Congress

**Bonus, Taxes, Relief, Agriculture, Among Major Items Acted upon by Legislators**

### INFLATION PLANS DEFEATED

**Housing, Coal Control, Food and Drugs, and Immigration Bills Among Those Left Over Until Next Session**

The second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress came to an end in the early morning hours of June 21. There was less than usual interest in the last days of this session, because adjournment came at a time when national attention was riveted on politics. Echoes of the Republican meeting in Cleveland were still being heard, and the Democrats were about to begin their party proceedings in Philadelphia. In the midst of these more exciting events proceedings on Capitol Hill went largely unnoticed.

However, a survey of the work of the second half of the Seventy-fourth Congress reveals a considerable record of action. The session turned out to be more active and more interesting than it had promised to be when senators and representatives came to Washington in January. It was expected at that time that little attention would be given to legislation of importance owing to the fact that the nation had entered an election year. In such times members of Congress, being politicians, are more concerned with partisan considerations than with anything else. They tend to avoid any action which might lose them votes in their own states or districts and concentrate only on those measures of undoubted popularity. Thus, Congress was not disposed to vote a larger appropriation for relief, while it freely approved the payment of the bonus to war veterans.

#### Problems Arise

But, as it turned out, Congress was obliged to face certain problems to which it had not looked forward. This was due, for one reason, to the Supreme Court's decisions invalidating the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Guffey coal bill. It became necessary to consider substitute measures to take the place of laws knocked out by the court. Then President Roosevelt surprised the members of Congress by demanding new taxes and by suggesting a levy on corporation surpluses to secure the needed revenue. The tax bill kept Congress in an agitated condition for weeks. Finally, certain routine measures, such as the appropriation for relief, called for more extensive debate than had been counted upon. These developments prevented early adjournment and forced the legislators to remain in the national capital much longer than they had expected. A brief résumé of the major acts of the session follows:

**Bonus.** Both houses passed a bill early in January, providing for immediate payment of the bonus to veterans. The act called for the payment of bonds in denominations of \$50 equivalent to the matured value of the veterans' compensation certificates. The bonds were made cashable at any time but can be held for 10 years at three per cent interest. President Roosevelt vetoed the bill but it was passed over his veto. It is estimated that the veterans will receive about \$2,000,000,000 from the government.

(Concluded on page 8)



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"SUMMER TIME, AN' THE LIVIN' IS EASY"

At least it is for those who are fortunate enough to escape for a few weeks' vacation in the open at this time of the year.

## Britain and Sanctions

"His Majesty's Government, after mature consideration and on the advice which I, as Foreign Secretary, thought it my duty to give, have come to the conclusion that there is no longer any utility in continuing these measures as a means of pressure upon Italy.

"I will give the House the reasons which brought us to take this decision. It cannot be expected by anyone that the continuance of existing sanctions would restore the position of Ethiopia which has been destroyed. Nobody expects that. That position could only be restored by military action and so far as I am aware no other government—and certainly not this government—is prepared to take such military action.

"Sanctions can only be maintained for some clearly defined and specific purpose. The only such purpose conceivable is the restoration in Ethiopia of the position which has been destroyed. Since that restoration cannot be effected except by military action I suggest that the purpose does not in fact exist, and to maintain sanctions without any clearly defined purpose would only have this result—it would result in the crumbling of the sanctions front so that in a few weeks' time the League would be confronted by a state of affairs still more derogatory than it has to face today."—Anthony Eden, British Foreign Minister, in a speech to the House of Commons.

"Let it be assumed, as we must I think assume, that in this Italian venture we have failed miserably. Clearly there have been mistakes of intention and action. It would be an error, none the less, to suppose that this failure will lead to a completely new course. As a whole, the public realize that our failure was due to no serious diplomatic fault of our own. Mr. Eden has been wise, courageous and consistent. And they are comforted by another even more important fact. We, being a democracy, can stand this humiliation with but a blink of our left eyelid; no dictatorship could survive such a diplomatic defeat; we are, therefore, stronger in the end than any dictatorship.

And can it be questioned, in the last resort, that France and Great Britain stand together, not merely geographically, but spiritually? Surely it must be generally recognized that whatever our faults and differences we do, in fact, stand for a type of human theory higher than that of Mussolini or Göring. The dictators may, by the use of violence, triumph temporarily. Yet, with all our muddle-headedness, we know that the conscience of mankind will, if we remain calm and generous, be overwhelmingly upon our side."—Harold Nicolson, in Foreign Affairs.

## League Defeated as Sanctions Are Ended

**Shift in British Policy Brings Admission of Failure in Effort to Curb Il Duce**

### BRITAIN NOW WOOS ITALY

**Anxious to Regain Her Support in Order to Strengthen Opposition to Germany's Growing Power**

The Assembly of the League of Nations meets on June 30 to consider the Ethiopian affair—or rather, what is left of it. The representatives of more than 50 governments will assemble in the still unhallowed halls of the magnificent new League Palace in Geneva, and there they will survey dismally the result of their handiwork. They will be obliged to face the stark fact that Mussolini has won an overwhelming victory; that League efforts to bring about the collapse of his aggressive war against Ethiopia have been unsuccessful. There will be no escape from the conclusion that the League has suffered the severest defeat in all the years of its existence.

Having reviewed the situation, the members of the League will have to discuss their next move. It is taken for granted that they will vote an end to the sanctions program by which they sought to cripple Italy. They will declare that all League members are free once more to trade unrestrictedly with Italy, and that all penalties laid upon the Italian government are lifted. The British, whose initiative last year caused the imposition of sanctions upon Italy, will take the lead in having them removed. France will stand behind Britain and the rest of the nations will most likely fall in line without difficulty.

#### A Chapter Ends

Thus ends an unhappy chapter in the history of the League of Nations. What at one time promised to be convincing demonstration of the League's power to curb aggression has been turned into a disastrous rout. There are few who believe, now, that the Geneva institution can be useful in the future in preventing a major outbreak. Perhaps something of it can be saved; perhaps some way will be found to reestablish the principle of collective action to maintain peace through a society of nations. But the outlook for the present is not bright.

It is likely that there will be considerable undercover opposition to the League's surrender to Italy. A number of nations, particularly the smaller ones, will greatly regret to see Mussolini's armed victory acknowledged in Geneva. These are the nations which since the war have looked to the League for protection against aggression by larger powers. Many of them would like to continue sanctions, hoping in the end to ruin Mussolini and to prove that war in defiance of the League Covenant does not pay. They feel that if sanctions were to be continued the League would in time win its victory, its authority would be vindicated, and they could again feel safe under its cloak of protection. However, with Britain and France, the two pillars of the League, ready to admit defeat, the smaller nations will be obliged to acquiesce in the abandonment of sanctions.

But on one point there may be bitter contest. Some members of the League, while they may agree, however reluctantly,



to drop sanctions, are ready to insist that the Assembly shall call upon its members not to recognize Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. It is recalled that the League made such a request in the case of Japan's acquisition of Manchuria and, the argument runs, it cannot do less in the present instance. Argentina, for one, has warned that she will quit the League if a nonrecognition policy is not adopted.

It is believed that the British will endeavor to sidestep the nonrecognition issue by having it postponed for consideration until September, when the regular session of the Assembly is held. The British government has come to the conclusion that it is best to wind up the Ethiopian affair and to let Mussolini have his way. It is of the opinion that more is to be lost than gained by further alienating the Italian dictator. In fact, Britain is now anxious to regain the friendship and goodwill of Mussolini.

### British Policy

When it is remembered that only a few short months ago the British were seriously thinking of persuading the League to take military action against Italy, it is clear that their policy has undergone a swift and complete reversal. A few months ago the British were willing to ruin Italy and today they want to strengthen her. What has occasioned this surprising and important shift in tactics?

A few words about Britain's basic foreign policy may help to clarify the situation. It must always be borne in mind that British policy is governed by a major geographical fact. Britain is a small, insufficient island off the coast of Europe with a vast empire stretching to the four corners of the world. The law of self-preservation requires that sources of food supply be maintained and that communications with the empire be kept open and protected.

This means that Britain must be powerful on the seas. She must be powerful enough to defeat any possible enemy who might seek to deprive her of contact with her empire. In order to feel safe the British feel they must be able to defeat the navies of any two European powers together.

If we translate this necessity for preponderant sea power into terms of European diplomacy, we find that the British will always attempt to prevent any single European country from becoming too powerful on the continent. They realize that if Europe comes to be dominated by one power it will not be long before the sea supremacy, or in other words, the very life, of Britain will be challenged. Thus Britain is bound to oppose the aim of any power or powers to secure a dictatorship over Europe.

Let us apply this theory to recent events in Europe. It was the Italian threat to the safety of British communications with the Near East and with India that produced the tension between Britain and Italy in recent months. Mussolini made bold to challenge Britain's position of supremacy in

the Mediterranean area and Britain retaliated by having the League declare penalties against Italy. And had not the French premier, Laval, been sympathetic to Mussolini, the British might well have sought a League war against Mussolini. There was ample public sentiment for strong action. A large section of the British public was convinced that the British Empire could only be protected by a strong League of Nations, and a war on behalf of the League would have found much support.

### Germany

However, all the people in Britain did not think that Italy was offering a major threat to British interests in the Mediterranean. There were many who thought that the Ethiopian affair was being unduly exaggerated and that Britain stood to lose more by casting aside Italian friendship, than she could gain by forcing her retirement from Ethiopia.

Specifically, many felt that by defeating Italy, Britain would only pave the way for a greater danger to her interests. The crushing of Italy would have meant the removal of that country's power and influence from Europe. This, in turn, would have presented Germany with an opportunity to increase her power. Without the opposition of Italy the way would have been open for Germany's absorption of Austria, which would have led to the rapid extension of German influence into Central Europe. And a Germany astride Europe would threaten Britain more than Italy possibly could.

This view of the situation made itself felt last December when Sir Samuel Hoare, then foreign secretary, agreed with Premier Laval of France on a plan to end the Ethiopian dispute. The Hoare-Laval plan would have given a large part of Ethiopia to Italy and it would probably have been accepted by Mussolini who, at that time, was none too sure of victory by armed force. However, knowledge of the plan leaked out and it aroused bitter opposition among the British public who believed that the League must be upheld and that no deal with Mussolini should be made. The storm of fury forced the resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare and the abandonment of the plan. Hoare was replaced by Anthony Eden, a League enthusiast, who pressed the policy of League penalties against Italy.

Events of the next few months tended to modify the popular viewpoint. Early in March, Hitler took advantage of the opportunity offered him by the Ethiopian dispute and suddenly reared the Rhineland. The British were unwilling to join the French in any attempt to force Germany to retire, but they were mindful of the fact that Germany had made an imposing gain in strength. At the same time, they saw that all was not going well in Ethiopia. Under the able leadership of Marshal Badoglio, Italian troops were making rapid headway. Something was obviously wrong with the predictions of military experts that the conquest of Ethiopia would require a long, hard campaign. It was not long after this that Italian troops entered Addis Ababa. Haile Selassie fled, and the war was over.

The Italian victory placed the British in a dilemma. They had to decide whether to continue the effort to defeat Mussolini or whether to accept defeat and come



ANXIOUS DAYS

—Shafer in Cincinnati Times-Star



WHO PUT THAT THERE?

—Homan in The Owensboro (Ky.) Messenger

to terms with him. After careful consideration they came to the conclusion that the latter course would be preferable by far.

Several factors caused the British to arrive at this decision. One was the danger of further angering Mussolini. Flushed with victory, he was in no mood to take continued opposition from Britain quietly. There were hints in Rome that Italy was talking matters over with Germany, and it was suggested that the two countries might agree to work together against Britain and France. The British did not take this too seriously, for they knew that Mussolini stood to lose greatly by flirting with Germany, for once Hitler gained a foothold in Central Europe he would soon become the dominant power. However, the British were aware that dictators, when aroused, may resort to rash action. At the same time they were uneasy over Italian pinpricks in the Mediterranean area—the spreading of anti-British propaganda in Egypt, Palestine, and even India.

### Central Europe

But while these reasons for regaining the friendship of Mussolini were important, there was another which seems to have weighed more heavily. This was the steady growth of German influence in Central Europe. The weakening of Italy and the waning prestige of the League brought opportunities which the Nazis did not overlook. They bent their efforts toward establishing more cordial relations with Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Only a few days ago Germany's minister of economics, Hjalmar Schacht, made a tour of Central Europe offering trade advantages to the governments of the various countries. It is reported that in his private speeches he boldly asserted that economic arrangements would be followed by political alliances.

It is logical that the Central European powers should feel themselves drawn to Germany. They have seen Italy spend her financial resources on the Ethiopian war which has impaired her ability to offer economic support to them. They see France with a decidedly uncertain internal situation, and they see the League of Nations no longer able to act as their protector. It is natural that they should feel obliged to consider the possible advantages which might be derived from closer working agreements with Germany.

It is chiefly this turn of events which is reported to have influenced the British cabinet to decide upon an end to sanctions. They consider that it would be better to curb the rising power of Germany by regaining the friendship of Mussolini and drawing him back into a Franco-British-Italian combination. In addition, it is possible that the way will be opened for the negotiation of a loan to bolster Italy's finances. Thus, Italy will once more be able to counteract German influence in Central Europe.

And in order to prevent the possibility of friction in the Mediterranean area, the

British are reported to be negotiating an agreement with Italy. This pact would formally recognize Britain's sea supremacy in that region and would recognize her right to fortify certain essential bases. At the same time it would give the Italians supremacy in the air and would acknowledge her right to maintain an air base in Libya. Through an agreement of this sort, recognizing Italy's power while still maintaining her own position, the British government hopes to patch up its outstanding differences with Il Duce.

### The Olive Branch

This is the situation as it appears to be at the present time. It is necessary to make the reservation, however, that British policy is seldom if ever crystal clear. For example, while Britain is endeavoring to reconstitute Italy, she is not averse to extending the olive branch to Germany. She wants to hold Germany down, but while doing so to retain her goodwill. Accordingly there is talk of an accord with Germany which would bind her to keep peace in Western Europe but would free her to act as she wishes in the East. In time, this would mean a war between Germany and Russia, an event which many in Britain, who look upon Communism as the greatest threat of all, would welcome. It is not believed, however, that an agreement of this kind will actually be forthcoming.

Finally, it must be noted that the British government is ready to make changes in the structure of the League of Nations. Humiliated by the outcome of the Ethiopian adventure, many prominent Britons believe that the League should be reorganized. Their attitude has not been fully set forth but they are apparently unwilling to keep Britain pledged to defend the Covenant in all parts of the world. They are thinking in terms of regional responsibility which would turn the Covenant into a series of mutual assistance pacts. By such a revision of the Covenant those in Britain who think that the attempt to stop Italy's war against Ethiopia was a blunder, hope to prevent another mistake in the future. It is expected that revision of the League Covenant will be taken up at the September session of the Assembly.



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PRIME MINISTER STANLEY BALDWIN

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# AROUND THE WORLD

**Switzerland** A group of European statesmen has been meeting in the village of Montreux to consider the demand made by Turkey last spring that she be permitted to fortify her straits. In the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, Turkey agreed to leave unguarded both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, two necks of water that together connect the Black Sea with the Sea of Marmora and the latter with the Mediterranean. Turkey, her spokesmen say, accepted this demilitarized zone because 13 years ago Europe seemed to be at peace. The League of Nations had been organized and gave every promise of being an effective instrument for preventing war and aggression. Moreover, Britain, France, Japan, and Italy had assumed the responsibility of guarding the straits in the event of any attempt to usurp their control from Turkey. There was thus at the time no good reason why the straits should need fortification.

This situation, the spokesmen emphasize, has been altogether altered. The world is surely not at peace. Armaments are being increased rapidly. The League of Nations can no longer be relied upon, with any certainty, either to prevent war or to discourage large powers from invading unprotected small nations. She failed to do so in the case of Ethiopia. Nor is it any the more likely that the powers guaranteeing the safety of the straits can be altogether trusted. For Japan has left the League. Italy has flouted it. Great Britain and France have vacillated in their policy. The only course left open to Turkey is to undertake her own protection by guarding the straits herself.

There is no doubt that these arguments will prove telling to the assembled statesmen. Most of them have already indicated their willingness to agree to the revision of the treaty. They are further impelled to take this course because Turkey has shown scrupulous regard for the sanctity of treaties. She did not, as did other nations, simply denounce the agreement and proceed to act as she pleased. She asked the permission of all the interested powers. Thus both the reasonableness of her claims and her manner of presenting them are bound to react favorably for her.

Before agreeing to the revision, however, certain questions remain to be clarified. And these questions involve not Europe alone but also Asia. Willingly or not, the fact must be accepted that Italy has become the important power in the Mediter-



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**THE KING GREETES THE PRESIDENT**  
Edouard Benes, president of Czechoslovakia, was warmly received by King Carol of Rumania upon his arrival in Bucharest for a conference of Little Entente powers recently.

anean. Will Mussolini agree to let Turkey be the sole protector of her straits? There are indications that he will not do so readily. He has already announced that he will accept no decision made by the statesmen without consulting Italy.

There is the further problem of Russia whose relations with Turkey are particularly friendly. The Soviet government has warships stationed in the Black Sea and wants guarantees that they will be permitted to pass through the straits to the Mediterranean. On the other hand she would like to see the entrance of warships to the Black Sea prohibited. This is obviously aimed at Japan. Japan, whose position as one of the four powers committed to protect the straits gives her a special privilege, would like to have the straits closed to all warships coming from the Black Sea.

\* \* \*

**Canada:** In a series of sweeping decisions, the Supreme Court of Canada declared as invalid most of the reform measures introduced in 1934 and 1935 by the Bennett government. Among the measures, several of which were similar to those enacted under President Roosevelt's New Deal, were the National Products Marketing Act providing for compulsory cooperative marketing of farm products, social security, unemployment insurance, and minimum wage legislation. Only two of the eight reforms were sustained by the justices. These included a Canadian NRA to eliminate unfair methods of competition and aid to farmers burdened with debt.

The grounds on which the court made its decisions were strikingly similar to those advanced by the United States Supreme Court in its frequent reversal of New Deal laws. It contended that the dominion (federal) government had encroached upon the rights of the provinces in enacting these measures.

In its effect upon the country, the decisions are not as sweeping as may appear. In the first place, most of these laws had not yet been put into force, since it is customary for the government to await the court's decision before giving any law the full force of a statute. Moreover, the court's decision is not binding. The justices act but as a body of judicial review, and the government is thus

free to accept its decisions only as an opinion, disregarding them altogether if it desires. Should the government, however, feel that it ought not to go contrary to the court's opinion, it can always seek the advice of the British Privy Council, which is the last resort of appeal.

It appears probable that this is the step which Prime Minister Mackenzie King will follow. Although he defeated Bennett last year on this question of social reform, he has himself indicated that certain of the laws meet with his approval.

\* \* \*

**France:** Developments in France during the last week continued to harass the Socialist government of Leon Blum. While most of the million workers who went on strike during the first week of the new cabinet have returned to their jobs, there are still over 200,000 whose claims remain unsatisfied. Moreover, further labor disorders broke out in the Marseilles harbor among the sailors of 50 ships. Red flags were hoisted to the mastheads to replace the republican tricolor.

From the Rightist factions came threats of armed insurrection against the government and Premier Blum prepared legislation dissolving all fascist groups, including the Croix de Feu of Col. de la Rocque. But this legislation is being openly defied. The fascist factions have announced that they will continue to hold mass demonstrations in the streets every day. Fighting between them and the police has taken place in Paris.

In the face of these problems, the government is continuing to carry out its program of reforms. To calm the fears of the industrial interests in France, Vincent Auriol, minister of finance, has announced that under no circumstances will the franc be devalued. He further stressed the government's intention to balance the budget, cut taxes and arrest the flight of capital to foreign countries.

\* \* \*

**Germany:** The recently completed trip through Central European and Balkan countries of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the government's financial adviser, emphasizes the increasingly dominant part which Germany is playing in the countries to the south of her.

During his journey, the head of the Reichsbank met with foreign officials in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Greece, and succeeded in negotiations for an extension of trade with their countries. In doing so, Dr. Schacht indicated that Germany is to conduct her foreign trade on a new basis, no longer that of international credits. She is to barter goods for goods. Actually this is seen to be merely an attempt to make the best of a desperate situation, since Germany's gold reserve is low, and she has no other recourse. Nevertheless, the arrangement is hailed as one that will prove satisfactory both to the Reich and to the other nations. Germany will send to them manufactured articles and will receive in return agricultural products.

The effect these trade agreements is likely to have on the political situation is a point on which observers dwell with varying speculation. Hitherto, several of these smaller European nations have been tied economically to Italy. Providing them with markets, Mussolini has been able to have his say in the guidance of their affairs. They had come to look upon him as the guarantor of their independence. But the importance of Italy to them is now waning. Hard hit by the cost of her Ethiopian war as well as by the League sanctions, Italy has been unable to continue her purchases in Austria and Hungary to such a great extent as in recent years. It is therefore open to doubt whether Il Duce will now be looked upon by them as the one in whom to place their confidence. With Germany taking their agricultural surpluses, these countries will be strongly tempted to rely more and more on Hitler's protection, which is the more assuring with the increase in German armaments.

\* \* \*

Dr. Bernhard Wilhelm von Bulow, German secretary of state for foreign affairs, died in Berlin at the age of 51. Dr. Bulow maintained his office under the Hitler régime, despite the fact that he served under the old Stresemann and Brüning governments.

\* \* \*

All Russia has been thrown into mourning by the death of Maxim Gorki, famous novelist, who was regarded by the government as the outstanding exponent of Communism in contemporary literature. Although not a member of the Communist party, his devotion to the ideals of the Soviet State was unquestioned.



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## AFTER THE RAID

An Arab family in the courtyard of their home after it had been thoroughly searched for arms by British soldiers. Household goods were swept out into the streets by the troops who made every effort to uncover craftily concealed weapons.



THE DARDANELLES

—Johnson

The area shaded in black indicates the zone which was declared demilitarized after the World War. Now, Turkey is anxious to rearm the region since other nations have been arming steadily since the war. A conference was called in Switzerland to consider the matter.





PUBLICITY MENTOR

Charles Michelson, whose job of publicity director for the Democratic party keeps him busy thinking up bright ideas to annoy his Republican opponents. He is shown here being interviewed at Philadelphia by newspapermen.

## Philadelphia

The Democratic National Convention will be well underway by the time this paper reaches its readers. As this is written, delegates are pouring into Philadelphia, and preparations are being made for the opening of the convention. All signs point to a rousing demonstration of loyalty to President Roosevelt. The Democrats, who always put on a good show at their conventions, appear determined to outdo the Republicans even if there is to be no battle over candidates. They plan to show the country that the bulk of the Democratic party is enthusiastically behind President Roosevelt.

A feature of the convention is an exhibit of the work which is being done by the government. All the major government departments, including not only the New Deal agencies but the War and Navy Departments, have prepared exhibits in order that visitors to the convention may see what is being done under the present administration. That the President is resolved to give no quarter to the opposition is evidenced by the fact that there are even exhibits of the much criticized "boon-doggling" activities of the Works Progress Administration.

## Al Smith Walks

On the eve of the Democratic National Convention came a request that the delegates put aside President Roosevelt as their candidate and "substitute some genuine Democrat" who can "follow in the footsteps of Jefferson,



A SUGGESTION FOR THE PLATFORM MAKERS  
—Carmack in Christian Science Monitor

Jackson, and Cleveland." This action came from Democrats who have been active in the work of the Liberty League.

The list of five signers is headed by Alfred E. Smith, formerly governor of New York and Democratic presidential candidate in 1928. Another is Bainbridge Colby, former Bull Moose supporter of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and, for a brief time, secretary of state under Woodrow Wilson. More recently he

has been an ardent critic of New Deal policies. James A. Reed, former United States senator from Missouri, is another signer, while a fourth is Joseph B. Ely, once governor of Massachusetts, who placed Smith's name in nomination for the presidency four years ago. The last of the five, Daniel F. Cohalan, is not politically prominent outside of New York city, where he was once high in the councils of Tammany Hall.

The effect which this protest will have upon President Roosevelt's chances at the polls remains uncertain. However, it brings into organized form something of the opposition which he can expect from members of his party. The action is in keeping with Mr. Smith's statement made at the Liberty League dinner in Washington last January when he said he would "take a walk" if the Democrats did not nominate a candidate who would disavow many of the New Deal policies.

The letter implied that the five signers will support the Landon-Knox ticket. Ely, a director in the Liberty League and once mentioned as a third-party candidate for the presidency, has expressed his willingness to campaign for Governor Landon. Reed has intimated that he will do the same. Decision to publish the letter was reached after numerous conferences had been held between Smith and two other prominent members of the Liberty League—John J. Raskob and Jouett Shouse.

The bolt by Smith and his associates has been welcomed by John D. M. Hamilton, Republican national chairman. In a recent address in New York Hamilton praised these "distinguished and determined citizens" for their stand against the Roosevelt administration.

## The Union Party

Announcement comes from Representative William Lemke, Republican of North Dakota and formerly active in the Nonpartisan League in that state, that he will be a candidate for president in the November elections. His running mate will be Thomas Charles O'Brien, a labor attorney of Boston, and they have decided that their organization shall be known as the Union party. Since his election to Congress in 1932, Lemke has been active in promoting legislation dealing with farm problems. His inflationary proposal for refinancing farm debts was defeated in this session of Congress while the farm moratorium legislation, of which he was joint author, was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Lemke will have the support of Father Charles E. Coughlin and his National Union for Social Justice, and further aid can be expected from the followers of Dr. Francis E. Townsend and of Gerald L. K. Smith who controls what is left of Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth movement. It is quite certain that the Progressives of the Northwest, headed by Senator Robert LaFollette and his brother, Philip, governor of Wisconsin, will not give their support to Lemke's candidacy.

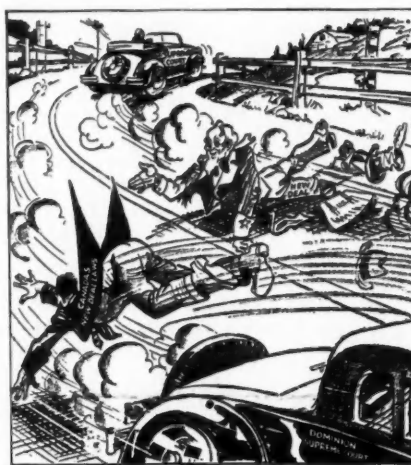
The Union party platform, according to Mr. Lemke, calls for the creation of a central

bank which is to retire all tax-exempt securities, the payment of a living wage to all workers, adequate old-age security, extensive public works, adequate national defense, all appointments to be made under the civil service, together with drastic limitations on incomes.

## Landon's Campaign

Within a few days after the conclusion of the Republican convention in Cleveland, Frank Knox, Republican vice-presidential nominee, journeyed to Topeka to confer with Governor Alf M. Landon and with John D. M. Hamilton (Governor Landon's pre-convention manager and now Republican national chairman) on the plans for the approaching campaign. The candidates agreed that Colonel Knox should do most of the campaigning and that Governor Landon should make only a few appearances.

As a result, Governor Landon, after his acceptance speech in Topeka on July 23, is scheduled to speak in Pennsylvania, reputedly



"FANCY MEETING YOU HERE"

—Doyle in N. Y. Post

a pivotal state in this election, at his birthplace in Mercer County. From there he is scheduled to go to Buffalo, where, it is hoped, he may be able to strengthen the party's hold on up-state New York, normally Republican by a big majority. He will conclude his eastern campaign by going down to New York City where he will speak in Madison Square Garden. Going into the Midwest, he will speak at Springfield, Illinois, the city in which Abraham Lincoln lived. This will be in the center of the farm belt, in a region which has been normally Republican but which has shown a strong attachment to the Roosevelt administration. Then, despite the strong Democratic trend in California during recent years, he will go there for an address.

## In Arkansas

As a result of charges that Miss Sue Blagden, a social worker of Memphis, and the Reverend Claude C. Williams, Presbyterian minister of Little Rock, were flogged while investigating conditions among the cotton farmers of eastern Arkansas, United States Attorney General Homer S. Cummings has sent a special assistant, Sam E. Whitaker, to the state to investigate conditions. The recent floggings are only a small part of many incidents of their kind in the reign of violence which has been reported from Arkansas during the past year or more.

The difficulty has arisen from the efforts of cotton farmers, in opposition to the landowners, to form the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, an organization which has attempted to include both white and Negro sharecroppers in its membership. The Union has attempted to secure more favorable contracts from the landowners, including better housing and a larger share of the income from the cotton crops.

The planters and some of the southern

newspapers charge that the Tenant Farmers' Union has arisen as a result of the presence of labor agitators from outside the state. The members of the Union claim that their organizers are local people and that their organization is the result of a deep-felt need for improved living and working conditions. Reliable reports show that many members of the Union have been evicted from their cabins; some have been jailed for slight or for trumped-up charges; others have been violently manhandled; their meetings have been broken up by landlords and deputy sheriffs and in some instances their houses and meeting places have been burned.

## Anti-Monopoly

Harold L. Ickes, PWA administrator, some days ago announced the cancellation of a steel contract with the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company because that company discriminated against workers who had joined labor unions. A few days after this announcement was made, President Roosevelt submitted data to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings which showed that certain steel companies had engaged in collusive bidding on government contracts by submitting identical bids. The President's memorandum, forwarded to the attorney general, was based on an investigation made by the Federal Trade Commission. The report revealed that identical bids, in this instance, had been submitted by the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, and the Inland Steel Company.

These collusive bids, according to Secretary Ickes, have been common on government contracts. President Roosevelt seems eager to break the practice of identical bidding, either under laws now existing or under legislation which he would be willing to recommend to Congress.

## Steel Makes a Gesture

At the time that John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and chairman of the recently created Committee for Industrial Organization, was ready to launch his campaign for the unionization of the steel workers, a movement which was designed to deal a death blow to the company unions of the steel industry, the steel magnates announced their plans to extend a 10 per cent wage increase to all employees. Recently the steel companies, in response to demands by the workers, granted employees a week's vacation with pay and have intimated that they are willing to make further concessions.

Despite these gestures of good will, the



COUGHLIN MAN

Representative William Lemke of North Dakota who will head a Union party, backed by the Detroit press.



# The United States

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

Committee for Industrial Organization continues to make plans for the unionization of the steel industry, and, under the direction of Philip Murray, hopes to effect large increases in union memberships.

### Back to the Land

In keeping with the opinion expressed by many people during the last five years, the United States Bureau of the Census reports that the farm population of the United States, as of January 1, 1935, was the largest in the history of the country—totaling 31,800,907, and exceeding that of the decennial census of April 1, 1930, by 1,356,557 persons. The back-to-the-land movement may be accounted for, in part, by unemployment in the cities which has forced some people, once familiar with farm life, to return to it, and also by the decentralization of industry, which is making it possible for people to supplement their farm incomes with cash incomes from industrial employment.

### D. C. Teachers

Representative Thomas L. Blanton of Texas, chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the District of Columbia, and sponsor of the "red rider" in the 1936 appropriation act which forbids teachers in the public schools of the District to teach anything about communism, recently dispatched a questionnaire to the teachers in which he inquired concerning their economic, religious, and political beliefs.

Blanton claimed that the inquiry was instigated by the Federation of Citizens Associations, but officers of that organization denied responsibility. Members of the Washington school board, as well as members of the House, expressed the hope that teachers would not respond to Representative Blanton's request. The school board passed a resolution in which teachers were advised "that if they do not desire to reply, they have a perfect right, in our opinion, not to do so." Blanton's action was criticized on the floor of the Senate by Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri while Representative Kent Keller of Illinois introduced a resolution of censure which was killed on a point of order.

### Drought Relief

President Roosevelt has started work to relieve the drought-stricken area of the Northwest, especially in the Dakotas and Montana. People are reported moving from this region which has suffered from drought for several years.

The President has instructed Rexford G. Tugwell, resettlement administrator, to determine through his organization the conditions which exist. The Resettlement Administration was requested to provide temporary relief to stranded families as well as to outline a more permanent policy for that section of the wheat country.

A delegation from the Dakotas, headed by Senator Gerald P. Nye, recently conferred with Mr. Tugwell and also with Harry L. Hopkins, relief administrator, and later with President Roosevelt. It is believed that at least \$50,000,000 will be needed to provide direct relief as well as some work relief to the families in the drought-stricken area.

### Hull's Tariff Pacts

As we enter the presidential campaign, it seems likely that the tariff agreements for the reduction of duties may become a political issue of importance. Executed by Secretary Cordell Hull, an ardent advocate of lower tariff



JUST A BEAR FOR PUNISHMENT  
—Talburt in Washington News

duties, with at least a dozen countries they have contributed to the stimulation of foreign trade. The importance of these trade agreements is reflected in a recent speech by Raymond Leslie Buell, president of the Foreign Policy Association, in an address before the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches, when he said:

The Hull tariff program is one of the most outstanding achievements of the Roosevelt administration. Based upon the most careful study of this country's economic needs, it recognized that international political tension, as well as our own economic depression, will be remedied only by a restoration of international economy.

Next year the Ottawa agreements of the British Empire may be terminated. If the United States enacts a new Hawley-Smoot tariff, the Ottawa agreements will undoubtedly be amended. Other parts of the world will follow this example and the only result will be increased government intervention in business and agriculture, growing chaos and eventually war.

On the other hand, the Republicans are not likely to be so enthusiastic about these agreements, and the voters will be obliged to weigh all the contentions prior to the balloting in November.

### U. S. and Italy

Two days after Anthony Eden announced to the British House of Commons that his government would advocate the repeal of sanctions imposed against Italy by the League of Nations, President Roosevelt moved to withdraw the embargoes decreed by the neutrality resolutions of Congress.

The President's action was taken in two proclamations. One announced the removal of the prohibition against the export of arms and implements of war to Italy and Ethiopia. The other withdrew the warning to American citizens that they must not travel on the vessels of the belligerents.

The United States thus became the first



FIRST MEETING  
As Frank Knox, Republican vice-presidential candidate, came to Topeka to meet Alf M. Landon, the party's candidate for the presidency. The two leaders talked over campaign plans and declared that their fight against the New Deal would be a vigorous one.

nation officially to recognize the fact that the state of war between Ethiopia and Italy had ended and that normal relations with these countries could be resumed. In explaining his action, Mr. Roosevelt emphasized that he was merely deciding upon a question of fact. He had issued the embargo proclamations when it was clearly ascertained that Italy and Ethiopia were at war. Having now ascertained that the war no longer continues, he felt it his "duty" to revoke his earlier proclamations.

Officials of the State Department have denied that there was anything more than coincidence in the fact that the President's proclamation came at almost the same time that the British cabinet decided to recommend the abandonment of sanctions against Italy. They noted that the American embargoes were declared before the League had taken any action against Italy and that the President had decided to revoke the embargoes before the British cabinet took up the matter.

These officials further point out that the President's proclamation does not imply that the United States recognizes the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy. Our government still follows the policy of Secretary of State Stimson in not granting recognition to Manchoukuo because that land was acquired by means of aggression.

### Names in the News

Duncan U. Fletcher, for 27 years a member of the United States Senate from Florida, and prominent in the Roosevelt administration, died a few days ago at the age of 77.

Chester C. Davis, formerly administrator of the AAA and recently appointed by President Roosevelt to a position on the Federal Reserve Board, has come out strongly for the Hull reciprocal trade agreements on the theory that Europe constitutes an important market for the disposal of America's surplus products.

Senator Robert F. Wagner, the chairman of the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention which drafted the party platform, has had a long career in public life as a friend of labor and as an advocate of social legislation. Senator Wagner's election to the Senate in 1926 was preceded by seven years of service on the Supreme Court of New York, and prior to that he was a member of the New York legislature for 13 years.

Merle Thorpe, editor of the *Nation's Business*, the official publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, spoke in veiled criticism of the Roosevelt New Deal before the annual convention of Kiwanis International meeting in Washington last week.

Governor Eugene Talmadge, outspoken anti-New Deal governor of Georgia, was replaced on the Democratic National Committee by the selection of Clark Howell, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and friend of the Roosevelt administration.

### In Brief

Since the Ford Motor Company is a closed corporation, a financial report of its activities is rare. However, recently, William J. Cameron, spokesman for Mr. Ford on the radio, announced some interesting figures. In the 33 years of its existence, the Ford company had sold about 24,000,000 automobiles and other products. It has received for these products \$12,951,338,028, and paid out for materials and wages \$12,109,321,884. In 1934 the average profit on a car was \$20.

Despite the decision of the United States Supreme Court invalidating the New York State Minimum Wage Law, 37 New York laundries, representing 75 per cent of the city's laundry business, have agreed to maintain the standards set up by the rejected law.

Yale University has awarded an honorary degree to Sinclair Lewis, the American novelist and Nobel prize winner. The award heals a breach between the institution and the man that had occurred when the university refused to accept Mr. Lewis' gift of the plaque noting that he had received the Nobel prize.

President Roosevelt plans to send a committee of three men to Europe on July 1 for the purpose of studying the cooperative movement. It is reported that the special committee will visit nine countries, and will pay particular attention to Sweden where the achievements of the cooperative movement have reached noteworthy proportions. The President is reported to be tremendously interested in the



TOTTERING DOWN THE HILL  
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

coöperatives as one means of curbing monopoly.

It is reported that the lowest wages in American industry are being paid by the textile factories. This is due to the fact that this industry still employs a large number of women and children who bring down the wage scale. The number of women employed in cotton mills in 1934 was greater than in 1929.



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### UNHAPPY WARRIOR

Alfred E. Smith, who will probably campaign against President Roosevelt.



## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Great Upheaval of 1860

IT SHOULD have been apparent to any discerning citizen in 1856—and it doubtless was to many—that the Democratic party could not endure much longer as a national party if it persisted in following the tactics it had adopted. While the evil day of a split was forestalled by the device of giving the northern Democrats a sop by nominating a man from the North and of holding many of them in line by sidestepping the most crucial issue of the day, slavery, ominous signs were unmistakable. Already many northern Democrats were deserting to the Republican camp, and as President Buchanan, an ineffectual and nerveless executive, played into the hands of the Southerners, open schism was only a matter of time.

#### Democrats Split

Thus as the Democratic party prepared for its convention in 1860, a critical situation existed. The southern leaders were becoming more aggressive and less willing to compromise on the issue of slavery. They had been watching the growing power of the North in numbers, and they knew that sooner or later they would be completely dominated by those whose basic economic interests were diametrically opposed to their own. The South knew that if something drastic were not done, national policies decidedly harmful to its own interests would be adopted and that it would deteriorate. The plantation system upon which its well-being so vitally depended would be doomed, and it would be forced to take a position of secondary importance, both politically and economically.

The southern leaders, therefore, took the unequivocal position that Congress could not constitutionally abolish slavery in any territory, and further, that no territory could do away with the institution. They held that slaves were a form of property and that for any territory of the Union to free the slaves would be equivalent to its interference with property rights held by citizens of the United States. They contended that a state might free the slaves within its borders, but that no territory could do so. They were no longer willing to accept the Douglas thesis of popular sovereignty by which a territory might decide for itself whether it should be slave or free.

This advanced position was not taken by the northern Democrats, the most powerful leader of whom was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. When the national convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, there was the bitterest feeling between the two factions of the party. The platform contained a majority and a minority plank on the question of slavery.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

The majority plank took the extreme southern position, whereas the minority accepted the popular sovereignty idea. The convention, however, reversed the committee and adopted the minority plank. As soon as this action had been taken, the southern Democrats withdrew from the convention and called a convention of their own, to meet later at Richmond.

The split in the party had now become a reality. The northern Democrats, meeting first at Richmond and later at Baltimore, finally agreed upon Stephen A. Douglas as their candidate. The southern Democrats, meeting first at Richmond and later moving to Baltimore, decided upon John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their standard-bearer. To add to the confusion, a third party, the Constitutional Union, entered the field with John Bell of Tennessee as its candidate. This group stood for "no political principles other than the

Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws."

#### Republicans in 1860

It was apparent from the beginning that this upheaval would throw the victory to the Republican party which had first come into the arena four years earlier with John C. Frémont. It was not only the split in the Democratic party which insured a Republican victory in November, for during its brief existence the new party had learned many of the tricks of practical politics. Being a purely sectional party, launched

while "Vote yourself a tariff" was the theme repeated over and over in the East. Opposition to the extension of slavery, for both practical, sound business reasons as well as for the sentimentality attached to the issue, served as a bond to unite the North and West against the South.

#### The Real Issue

One should really go back to the campaign of 1860 to determine the true character of the issues involved. While it is popularly assumed that the sole issue was that of slavery, it is a fact that the principal line of division was on the question of determining the economic policies which the national government should follow. The campaign was characterized by torchlight parades, but on the floats and placards more repeated reference was made to the tariff and the free homesteads than to the question of slavery.

Charles A. and Mary Beard tell us something of the campaign in their "Rise of



NEGRO LIFE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

From an illustration in "The History of the American People," by Beard and Bagley.

for the avowed purpose of dealing a deadly blow to the institution of slavery, it had to count on not only the North and the East for victory, but also a good part of the new West. Some method must be devised to corral these pivotal votes.

The device adopted by the Republicans was a simple one. The East would have what it most dearly wanted by the adoption of a plank calling for a protective tariff. This would bring into the fold most of the businessmen and the Whigs who had all along sought the continuation of the Hamiltonian system of economic development. The West would be captured by the offer of free homesteads and a Pacific railway (part of the system of internal improvements which the West had wanted from the days of its earliest settlement). The free land idea would also appeal to many of the workers who saw in the West the opportunity for security and new riches. The abolitionists would naturally stick to the Republican party by a plank favoring the restriction of slavery. This plank would also appeal to the northern capitalists by preventing the South from fastening its plantation system upon the government in Washington.

In conducting the campaign, the practical politicians were careful not to stub their toes and speak of the wrong thing in the wrong section of the country. In the West, campaign orators naturally spoke less of the tariff and other parts of the program which might have alienated voters. Rather, they kept harping on the subject of free homesteads. "Vote yourself a farm" was the Republican battle cry in the West,

American Civilization." Here are snatches from their account of the campaign which had a decisive effect in altering the course of American history from that day to the present.

Huge campaign funds were raised and spent. Besides pursuing the usual strategy of education, the Republicans resorted to parades and the other spectacular features that had distinguished the log-cabin crusade of General Harrison's year. Emulating the discretion of the Hero of Tippecanoe, Lincoln maintained a judicious silence at Springfield while his champions waged his battles for him, naturally tempering their orations to the requirements of diverse interests. They were fully conscious, as the Republican paper in Philadelphia put it, that "Frémont had tried running on the slavery issue and lost." So while they laid stress on it in many sections, they widened their appeal.

In the West, a particular emphasis was placed on free homesteads and the Pacific railway. With a keen eye for competent strategy, Carl Schurz carried the campaign into Missouri where he protested with eloquence against the action of the slave power in denying "the laboring man the right to acquire property in the soil by his labor" and made a special plea for the German vote on the ground that the free land was to be opened to aliens who declared their intention of becoming American citizens. Discovering that the homestead question was "the greatest issue in the West," Horace Greeley used it to win votes in the East.

In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, protection for iron and steel was the great subject of discussion. Curtin, the Republican candidate for governor in the former state, said not a word about abolishing slavery in his ratification speech, but spoke with feeling on "the vast heavings of the heart of Pennsylvania whose sons are pining for protection to their labor and their dearest interests." Warming to his theme, he exclaimed: "This is a contest involving protection and the rights of

labor. . . . If you desire to become vast and great, protect the manufactures of Philadelphia. . . . All hail, liberty! All hail, freedom! freedom to the white man! All hail freedom general as the air we breathe!" In a fashion after Curtin's own heart, the editor of the Philadelphia *American and Gazette*, surveying the canvass at the finish, repudiated the idea that "any sectional aspect of the slavery question" was up for decision and declared that the great issues were protection for industry, "economy in the conduct of the government, homesteads for settlers on the public domain, retrenchment and accountability in the public expenditures, appropriation for rivers and harbors, a Pacific railroad, the admission of Kansas, and a radical reform in the government."

Election day in 1860 was, if we may rely upon the accounts of eyewitnesses, "intolerably dull." Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, every free state except New Jersey, whose vote was divided, Lincoln receiving four and Douglas three of her electoral votes. Douglas received 12 votes, Breckinridge 72, and Bell 39. Of the popular vote Lincoln received 1,857,610; Douglas 1,291,574; Breckinridge 850,082; Bell 646,124. Lincoln received nearly a million popular votes less than his three opponents combined.

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

The new zeppelin has possibilities. By improving its crossing time it may eventually become an overnight bag.

—Savannah Morning News

Rome raises a cry that the British supplied Ethiopia with dum-dum bullets. The dum-dum is one that is hollow and flattens out like a treaty.

—Barron's

What, somebody has asked the questions editor, is the meaning of the expression, "the quick and the dead"? Well, we couldn't say exactly, but it sounds like a description of the two major classes of pedestrians to us.

—Boston Herald

Only small minds rest contented with their work and go about with an expanded chest measure.—Dr. John A. W. Hass, retiring president of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

A young convicted murderer took gas recently in Arizona's state prison. But his last request was denied him. He wanted a gas mask.

—Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union

A congressman says he rolls over 80 times a day in order to keep in condition. And a lot of us had been thinking that a congressman got plenty of exercise dodging issues.

—Washington Post

A western embezzler was caught, pen in hand, in the act of doctoring the firm's books. With conditions as they have been, this might mean red-handed.

—Detroit News

With a free school, free church and a free library, you can not have dictatorship.—Dr. Frank P. Graham, president, U. of N. Carolina.

The United States has reminded England of that payment due June 15. Though mounted on a donkey, Uncle Sam has the memory of an elephant.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Hitler has forbidden the use of Dr. Eckener's name in any publicity concerning the new zeppelin. That is, unless it crashes.

—Life

The greatest curse of America, says a minister, is Hollywood and the country's crime wave. Ah! the Stars and Stripes!

—Charlotte (N. C.) Observer

Of what use is it to keep the body alive unless the brain also is alert? It is best for us to go while we are still mentally alive.—Dr. Charles H. Mayo, Rochester, Minn.

Psychologist says aggressive men often make meek husbands. So do aggressive wives.

—Answers

Too many people want to thumb their way through life, riding at somebody else's expense—that of the government, or the community, or a benefactor.—Rev. Dr. Edgar Dewitt Jones, Detroit.

The flow of money out of this country into foreign lotteries is causing concern in Washington. It really is amazing, the huge sums that can be got out of our taxpayers when they are offered some possible return.

—Judge



## Among the New Books

### Men and Statesmen

"The Tumult and the Shouting," by George Slocombe (New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.50).

SEVERAL foreign correspondents have recently allowed us to peek through keyholes and observe the men who are at the head of European affairs. Mr. Slocombe takes us across the threshold. As dean of British foreign correspondents, he has been privileged to know the outstanding statesmen of the last two decades. His own personal charm, apparent on every page, gained for him their confidence and trust.

A writer, more given to startle than to understand, might have made capital of these advantages. Not so Mr. Slocombe. He refuses to air all the scandals and rumors that mingle with drawing-room smoke. Nor is his volume of memoirs any the less fascinating for his restraint. He gives us understanding portraits, not strained for effect. He seems to have known many of the European statesmen when they were still either unsung or undishonored. And he is thus able to trace their careers so that

continent. They have not insisted upon merely tracing political changes, but rather upon placing these changes in their background of social, economic, and cultural development. Considerable space is devoted also to graphic, and at times intimate, sketches of how the masses of people lived during particular epochs. In other respects, the text follows traditional methods of presentation. It is clearly written, with an occasional liveliness that should add to the appeal of the student.

There is an abundance of maps accompanying the text and also a goodly number of illustrations, some of which, however, are rather dull. They seem musty, lacking the freshness and vitality which they were intended to add. In addition to several valuable tables of genealogy, there is a splendid bibliography, conveniently divided into suggestions for further reading, longer studies, biographical works, and sources.

### Stephen Vincent Benet

"Burning City," by Stephen Vincent Benet (New York: Farrar & Rinehart. \$2).

THE verses included by Mr. Benet in his newest volume are of two types. Those that survey the passing scene and those which are purely lyrical, themes which have occurred to generations of men when they have been too lonely or when the moon has been too wistful for them to keep silent.

There is no denying the forcefulness with which Mr. Benet deals with social problems. His "Litany for Dictatorships" and his "Ode to the Austrian Socialists" are unquestionably dramatic. They describe, with a realism that is shuddering, what happens when petty men seek power, and obtain it. Equally successful is his "Notes to Be Left in a Cornerstone" where, in more philosophic vein, he looks into the far future when our vast cities of steel and stone will have become a ruin, and he wonders that they should have been built at all.

Yet none of these approaches in beauty of expression and in depth of thought the shorter lyrical poems. They are quiet. They create a mood rather than a momentary irritation. They are simple, unaffected, direct. Witness "The Sparrow:"

Lord, may I be  
A sparrow in a tree

\* \* \*

The sparrow is a humorist and dies.  
There are so many things that he is not.  
He will not tear the stag nor sweep the seas

Nor fall, majestic, to a king's arrow.  
Yet how he lives, and how he loves in living

Up to the dusty tip of every feather!  
How he endures oppression and the weather

And asks for neither justice nor forgiving!  
Lord, in your mercy, let me be a sparrow!  
His rapid heart's so hot.

And some can sing—song sparrows—so they say—

And, one thing, Lord—the times are iron now,  
Perhaps you have forgot.

They shoot the wise and brave on every bough.  
But sparrows are the last thing that get shot.

### Maine Coast

"The Islands," by Gerald Warner Brace (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50).

MR. BRACE writes of the fishermen whose lives are spent among the islands that lie off the coast of Maine. No one

who is acquainted with the sea, either in its gentle mood when it rolls shoreward with the effortless grace of a gull in flight, or when it fiercely lashes against all things in its midst, can fail to note the mastery which the author brings to his subject. He knows the sea, its tide and its storms. He knows the craft which must weather it. He knows, too, the men and women whose lives are molded by the sea, whose language seems salty with it.

These people are a stolid lot of roughly hewn figures, earthy, content with their modest fate, seldom given to flighty nonsense. They are proud and have a stubborn regard for their own customs and traditions. It is among them that Edgar Thurlow is born. His early years are spent in typical fashion. He goes fishing with his father, learns how to man sailing craft. Even the death of his father does not seem to disturb for him the endless idyll woven by the sea and those who live by it.

It is only when a family from Boston settles near his village for the summer that his life takes a new twist. He is persuaded by the newcomers to live in Boston and attend school there. It is the conflict he faces in adjusting himself to the strange environment which forms the bulk of this novel.

The plot is admittedly negligible. It is a rather fragile skeleton. But Mr. Brace does succeed, nonetheless, in giving it marrow, flesh, and muscle. The characters are alive, real, and intensely absorbing. And it is perhaps the more understanding not to attribute to them great adventures, for none can really change them. They always remain under the spell of the sea.

### From the Magazines

"Hollywood Gods and Goddesses," by Ruth Suckow. Harpers, July, 1936.

THE immense influence which Hollywood exercises on the American people in the matter of clothes, speech, manners, and tastes engages the pen of Miss Suckow. She attributes this influence to the fact that the cinema stars represent, in their plays and to a certain extent in their lives, certain national ideals.

It will be found that the most successful movies, and by far the larger number of them, depict the aspirations of our people reduced to the lowest common denominator. They have to do with gaining great wealth or fame or the realization of romantic notions. The main character in any of these movies typifies the ordinary American. He might well be the neighbor of anyone in the audience. He uses the same language, makes the same jokes slightly refurbished, meets with the same problems. Or he lives in the same type of house, seeking, like those in the audience, for means to get a more luxurious one.

To illustrate her point, Miss Suckow picks, among others, the popular idol, Clark Gable. He has such a huge following because he is precisely the type of man who might conceivably issue out of your neighbor's door. It is easy for the men in the audience to think, for a brief while, that they are all variant editions of Mr. Gable. He represents them perfectly, and he appears to show them how they too might command what he has commanded so



AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE  
Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson. (Illustration from "The Tumult and the Shouting.")

desirably on the motion picture screen.

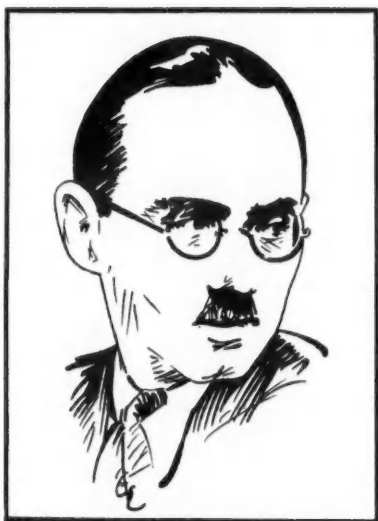
This influence is further strengthened by the numerous movie magazines. There is about them, as about the pictures, a curious mixture of the personal and impersonal. First the reader is told of all the earthly possessions of the actor, the number of his suits, the precise color of his private swimming pool, and so forth. The reader becomes envious at this point. But no, stop. Our hero is no different from you, humble reader. He, too, ties his own shoelaces. He is essentially human. You are very much like him, indeed. You ought to know him better.

"America's Peerage," by Datus C. Smith, Jr. Forum, July, 1936.

SOMEWHAT ironically classifying the recipients of honorary degrees as the elect of our fair land, Mr. Smith makes a critical inquiry into the types of men whom our universities single out for distinction each summer. The practice of granting honorary degrees, he finds, is not motivated altogether by a desire to grant recognition to scholarly accomplishments. Other factors also enter into it. There is the fact that it puts a college's name in the papers, that it obtains prominent speakers for commencement exercises, that it is an ideal method for expressing gratitude for gifts received or anticipated. Above all, it can be used to express a political opinion.

Only rarely, it is true, does a university confer this honor upon a man because it is seeking a gift. Yet this does occur and must consequently invest with doubt the value of all other distinctions passed out by the university. Much more frequently, an honorary degree expresses a political opinion. This has been particularly true in recent years. It is to be noted that by far the overwhelming number of those honored are conservative in their political and economic thought. It is difficult to find among them one who is liberal. Fully one quarter of the membership of the United States Senate has received an honorary degree. Yet not one of them has been aligned with progressive legislation.

The writer admits that this may all be a coincidence. Yet he doubts it when he comes face to face with the following fact. For years, Walter Lippmann was editing one of our country's most liberal newspapers. During all that time, no university honored him. Since he began to take issue with President Roosevelt, he has twice been honored.



STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

they lose their strangeness. By adroit weaving of background for these portraits, he presents a superbly readable and clear account of post-war Europe. With his sage pen he subdues the tumult and the shouting so that they lose their harshness.

### European History

"A Survey of European Civilization," by Wallace K. Ferguson and Geoffrey Bruun (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5).

THIS text is for college freshmen. In justifying this publication of another volume on European history, the authors note that few writers have as yet presented the history of Europe, in a single volume, so that it will be seen as one long continuous process of evolution. They maintain that the course of history is "an unbroken stream, flowing steadily from obscure or unknown sources . . . its character changes gradually. There are no sharp breaks. There is no one place where one may say: Here history changes, here an age ends and another age begins."

This point of view pervades the volume. The authors present a coherent and closely knit pattern of the many elements that have gone into the making of the European



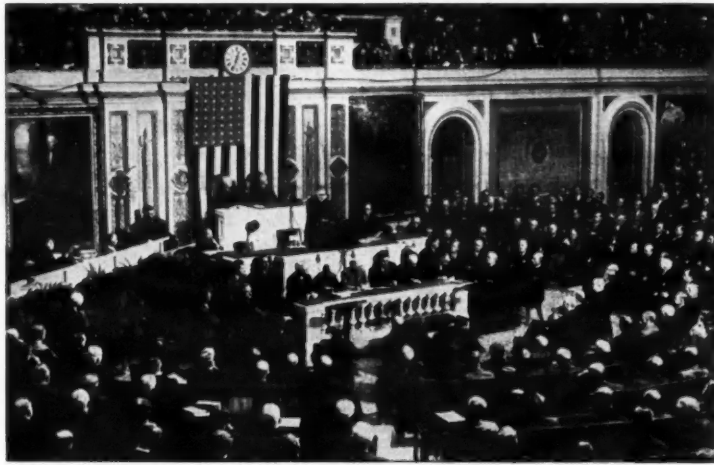
ILLUSTRATION FROM THE JACKET COVER OF "THE ISLANDS," BY GERALD WARNER BRACE



# Second Session of 74th Congress Brings Activities to Completion

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

**Agriculture.** After the invalidation of the AAA the administration brought forward a substitute measure in the Soil Conservation Act which passed both houses in February. Instead of paying cash to farmers for not producing crops, as was done under the AAA, this law provides for cash payments to farmers, in amounts ranging from \$1 to \$10 an acre, for purposes of diverting land to soil-building (legume) crops. By this plan it is expected that 30,000,000 acres of land will be diverted from producing crops of a soil-depleting nature and that farmers will have the benefit of favorable prices. It is provided that during the first two years the act will be administered by the national government, and after that by the state governments.



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AS THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSED CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE 74TH SESSION.

## Relief

**Relief.** The President received an additional \$1,425,000,000 to carry on the relief program during the next fiscal year. It is not believed that this sum will be sufficient to continue the program throughout the entire year on the present scale, and the next Congress may have to appropriate more funds. The President was made responsible for the spending of the money.

**Neutrality.** The neutrality law of 1935 was extended to May 1, 1937, with some amendments. One prohibits the granting of loans to belligerents, another prohibiting the shipment of arms and ammunition in American ships, and a third exempting the nations of the western hemisphere from provisions of the act when at war with non-American powers.

**Taxes.** A bill designed to raise \$800,000,000 in additional revenue, and conforming largely to the President's suggestions, was passed during the closing hours

**Rural Electrification.** Extended provisions of the Rural Electrification Act by authorizing a 10-year program to bring electricity to rural districts. Directed the RFC to lend \$50,000,000 to the REA for the first year, and authorized the appropriation

of \$40,000,000 yearly for each of the nine succeeding years. From these appropriations the REA is authorized to make loans to states, municipalities, farm co-operatives, and limited dividend corporations for the construction of electric lines to serve rural areas.

## Flood Control

**Flood Control.** Voted the expenditure of \$320,000,000 for flood control work, embracing 200 projects in 40 states. States and local subdivisions will be required to meet part of the cost.

**Chain Stores.** Passed the Robinson-Patman antiprice-fixing bill, giving the Federal Trade Commission authority to fix points beyond which discounts for quantity purchases may not go. Designed as an aid to the small businessman and seeks to curb monopolistic practices.

**National Defense.** Appropriated for army and naval expenditures for the next fiscal year to the amount of \$909,694,308, a sum almost twice as large as the expenditure for national defense during the first fiscal year of the Roosevelt administration. This legislation also provides for enlarging the personnel of the army, navy, and marine corps.

**Government Contracts.** Voted the Walsh-Healy bill restricting government contracts to those firms paying prevailing wages, observing a 40-hour week, forbidding child labor, and maintaining sanitary and health standards.

**Ship Subsidies.** Enacted a new subsidy bill providing for termination of subsidies to shipping companies in the form of mail contracts. Set up a new Maritime Authority which will pay direct subsidies to shipping companies for both construction and operation of vessels.

**Labor Relations.** Extended and strengthened the Labor Relations Act. Passed a bill which makes it a felony to transport professional strikebreakers across state lines to interfere with peaceful picketing.

**Tobacco Compact.** Authorized the negotiation of an interstate compact to regulate the production and the marketing of tobacco.

## Bills Not Passed

These are the principal measures passed by the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress. Brief mention may be made of important bills which received consideration but which were either defeated or not acted upon:

**Inflation.** Defeated the Frazier-Lemke bill for the refinancing of farm mortgages with new currency.

**Coal.** Last-minute filibuster by Senator

Rush D. Holt of West Virginia prevented passage of a bill to take the place of the Guffey Coal Act held invalid by the Supreme Court. The new bill would have authorized coal producers to fix prices for the coal industry, but abandoned the labor provisions on which the Supreme Court based its decision.

**Housing.** The Wagner-Ellebogen bill providing for a permanent housing program failed of enactment. The bill called for the making of loans and grants to local authorities for low-cost housing and slum-clearance. The bill would have launched a four-year program involving an outlay of \$976,000,000.

**Food and Drugs.** The much modified Cope-land Food and Drugs bill passed the Senate but was stalled in the House. The bill would increase the government's powers to prosecute and punish those who adulterate, misbrand, or falsely advertise, foods, drugs or cosmetics. In its amended form the bill was much weaker than its early sponsors wished it to be.

**Immigration.** Failed to pass the Kerr-Coolidge deportation bill which would permit 2,084 aliens who entered the country illegally, but who have since led useful lives, to remain. Would have made possible the deportation of some 8,000 criminals who are beyond the reach of existing immigration laws.

**Antilynching.** Again refused to act on the Costigan-Wagner antilynching bill which would make local officials responsible for safety of prisoners and would provide penalties whenever adequate protection was not provided.

## Spending Record

Such is the record of the session of Congress which adjourned a few days ago. In retrospect it appears to have been a better session than many have been in the past. Much time was wasted and much useful legislation was passed by, but on the whole the performance is considered creditable from a viewpoint of work done. Naturally, opinion differs with regard to the desirability of the separate acts.

Probably the outstanding feature of the session was the amount of money appropriated for various purposes. In all, Congress provided sums totaling \$9,716,430,863. The first session, held last year, appropriated \$9,579,756,510, which means that all told the Seventy-fourth Congress appropriated nearly \$20,000,000,000 in public funds, a peacetime record in American history. Of course, all this money will not be spent in a single year, and a considerable portion of it is to provide loans which in time will be repaid to the government.

## Congress Has Its Way

The session of Congress was also marked by an absence of what have been called dictatorial tactics on the part of the executive. Congress, generally, had its own way with regard to legislation. It passed the bonus over the President's veto and made a number of changes in various pieces of legislation suggested by the administration. To be sure, with the Democrats in absolute control of both houses, the President was able to secure most of what he wanted with little difficulty.

Congress followed the example of previous sessions by passing a certain amount of legislation of a reform character, although

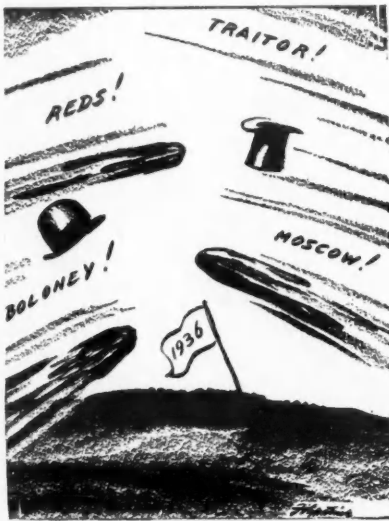
its activities in this respect were far from comparable to former sessions. The tax bill, the soil conservation bill, the rural electrification act, the chain-store, the government contract and ship subsidy bills all bear the stamp of the New Deal. In general it might be said that the session endeavored to patch up holes appearing in the New Deal setup.

There is one bill which may provide considerable embarrassment for the President—the Walsh-Healy government contract bill. It is reported that this law, providing for a 40-hour week, prevailing wages, and high sanitary and safety standards on government contract work, slipped through almost unnoticed on the last day. The Navy Department is said to be aroused and charges that, if signed by the President, it may interfere seriously with the construction of warships. The Navy Department contends that several thousand industries and trades contribute to the construction of a ship and that many of them will forego contracts rather than meet the stiff requirements.

This may tempt the President to veto the bill, but if he does so he runs the risk of displeasing the labor vote on which he counts heavily for the election. Labor forces were strongly in favor of the bill and would certainly interpret its veto as an unfriendly act on the part of the administration.

## SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. In what respects did the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress turn out to be more active than had been anticipated?
2. How did the fact that this is election year affect the (a) bonus; (b) relief; (c) taxes?
3. What are some of the important measures left over until the next session?
4. What are the two basic factors in the determination of British foreign policy?
5. What prime consideration is believed to have decided the British government to end sanctions against Italy?
6. Do you believe that a League of Nations organized on a basis of limited responsibility of members to enforce peace would be more effective than the present League?
7. What interest do the following countries have in the Dardanelles: (a) Turkey; (b) Russia; (c) Italy; (d) Japan?
8. What were the important issues in the campaign of 1860?
9. What action has the President taken to curb monopolistic practices in the steel industry?
10. Why have Arkansas sharecroppers been meeting with bitter opposition and abuse?
11. What are the principal features of the Union party platform?
12. Do you think the increase in the nation's rural population is establishing a permanent trend?



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

INTEREST WAS ON POLITICS DURING THE SESSION OF CONGRESS

of the session. The bill provides for a corporation income tax graduated from 8 per cent on the first \$2,000, to 15 per cent of all corporation incomes in excess of \$40,000. In addition, the bill carries a graduated levy of 7 to 27 per cent on the undivided profits of corporations, thereby substantially raising the tax on corporations and encouraging the distribution of larger dividends from corporate profits. Dividends to individuals are to be taxed as part of their private incomes and a tax of 80 per cent is imposed on all "windfalls" arising from processing taxes on farm commodities refunded by order of the Supreme Court.



"I'LL MAKE THIS ONE ANYHOW!"

—Elderman in Washington Post